Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

from the point of view of Schlegel's own usage, express so well as *romantisch* precisely what he wished to convey. In view of these considerations, we have every reason for regarding, not only the meaning given to *romantisch* by the Schlegels in 1799 and thereafter as the original meaning, but also the grounds then assigned for their selection of the word as the original grounds. Haym's long-current explanation of the signification and origin of the term, as well as the usual account of the genesis of the idea, must accordingly be rejected. Only—one must add, in order to make Haym's error intelligible—it is true that the adjective continued to have at times, for Fr. Schlegel, some obscure association with the noun *Roman,* in a sense of the latter which included the novel as well as the medieval romances; and that in the characterization of *die romantische Poesie* in *Ath.-Fgm.* 116, this association of ideas —either through confusion or, as one suspects, through a desire to mystify his readers—is made conspicuous. But even in this passage, as we have already seen, Schlegel is only secondarily expatiating upon the possibilities of the *Roman* as a *genre;* he is primarily setting forth, as he had often before set forth, the æsthetic aims and temper which to him differentiated truly modern from classical art.

A. O. Lovejoy.

Johns Hopkins University.

THE OLD ENGLISH POEMS ON ST. GUTHLAC AND THEIR LATIN SOURCE

All scholars agree that the 1353 verses in the Exeter Book concerning St. Guthlac form two distinct poems, the first running from 1 to 790 and the second from 791 to 1353. There is less unanimity of opinion, however, with regard to the question as to whether both parts were based on the *Vita* of the saint by Felix.[1] No one denies that the second part, which we may designate as *Guthlac's Death,* depends upon the *Vita;* but such a relationship has been thought by some not to exist for the first poem, which we may call *Guthlac the Hermit.* Since I have, myself, been guilty of expressing conflict-

[1] Ed. *A. S. S.,* Apr. II, 38-49.

ing views with regard to the matter,[2] I wish to present the evidence on which I base my later conclusions. I believe it will be worth while, furthermore, to examine the relationship between *Guthlac's Death* and the *Vita,* since a comparison between the two is illuminating with regard to the poet's method and has its importance with reference to the question of his identity.

I. Guthlac the Hermit

To pass in review the opinions that have been expressed for and against the dependence of *Guthlac the Hermit* upon Felix would profit us not at all. I must, however, refer to Dr. Forstmann's study, published in 1902, since it is the most recent treatment of the subject, and since it was the means of misleading me for a time by its genuine erudition and its mistaken reasoning. Dr. Forstmann submitted the poem to a close comparison with the text of Felix, and came to the conclusions, (1) that the one was entirely independent of the other; and (2) that the few correspondences noted were due to treatment of the same material or to dependence on a similar source (p. 17). He decided, that is, that the poet drew on oral tradition for his information about the saint.

Dr. Forstmann was misled, I think, by a mistake of method very natural in a young scholar. He compared the poem with the *Vita,* not the *Vita* with the poem. That is, he did not set about investigating whether the *Vita* was the source of the poem, but whether the two ran parallel through their whole course. Thus when passages of the Latin text were omitted, Dr. Forstmann remarked that of these matters there is in the poem "so gut wie gar nichts." On the other hand, he was disturbed by expansions of the Latin by the poet. In other words, he failed to see that in weighing the possible dependence of a poem on a prose source, one must grant a certain latitude of imagination and of phrasing to its author: he would scarcely be a true poet if he merely translated his original, sentence by sentence, into verse.

Let us see, first, what correspondences and what divergences

[2] In a review in *Engl. Stud.*, xxxiv, 95 ff., of H. Forstmann, *Untersuchungen zur Guthlac-Legende,* Bonner Beiträge, xii, 1-40; and in *Saints' Legends,* 1916, pp. 79-85, where I had not space to present my evidence in detail.

there are between the *Vita* and the poem. After doing this, we shall be in a position to discuss the question in its general bearings.

1-63. These lines form a prologue, for which there is no parallel in Felix's preface. The latter is short and refers wholly to the composition of the work that is to follow. Obviously the poet did not draw upon this source for his somewhat elaborate contrast between the evil times and evil deeds of the world and the lives of the saints, which ends by celebrating hermits more particularly. Yet that he had a literary model seems to me almost certain from the fact that the passage runs along lines sufficiently familiar to anyone who has read much medieval literature. Indeed, 1-8a might almost be taken from Gregory of Tours' *Vitæ Patrum,* where is found a close parallel at least.[3] "Multi variique sunt gradus per quos ad coelorum regna conscenditur, de quibus, ut opinor, et David dicit, quia *ascensus in corde deposuit.* Accipiuntur ergo hi gradus diversorum operum ad cultum divinum profectus, et nullus in his gressum figere potest, nisi fuerit, sicut sæpe testati sumus, Dei adjutorio provocatus." Gregory goes on to say that this aid is ready for anyone who will seek for it "per hos ergo scalæ hujus ascensus tam difficiles, tamque excelsos, tam arduos," ending the prologue he is writing by the remark that St. Friardus, his hero for the moment, sought this aid. The same figure is used by Lactantius:[4] "Nam cum sint gradus multi per quos ad domicilium veritatis ascenditur, non est facile cuilibet evehi ad summum." I am not arguing that the poet of *Guthlac the Hermit* had read Gregory of Tours, but only that he was writing in a vein of literary tradition. There is even the possibility that he used a copy of Felix's *Vita* with a prologue unlike the one extant, but resembling in content the prologue of the Old English poem. We know very little about the textual history of Felix, but we do know that double prologues were not unusual in such works.

64-111 tell how Guthlac, deserting the evil courses of his youth, turned to God. There is then described the battle between the angel of the Lord and the devil for his soul. In § 11 of Felix a similar struggle is pictured, though it is represented as taking place wholly in the saint's mind. In view, however, of the personification used later in the *Vita* and of the poet's constant tendency to

[3] Cap. x. Migne, *Patr. Curs. Comp. Lat.* LXXI, 1055.

[4] *De ira dei,* 2, ed. Brandt, 1893, p. 69.

dramatize, it is quite natural that he should depict this scene as he does. The passage is freely rendered, that is all.

111b-124 describe in general terms the terrors and temptations that beset Guthlac, and picture his dwelling-place in the Fens and its former devilish occupants. In §§ 14-16 of Felix we have the situation, conditions, and surroundings of Crowland explicitly stated. These paragraphs the poet has used freely. Corresponding rather closely to 117b-120:

Wæs sēo londes stōw
bimiþen fore monnum, oþþæt meotud onwrāh
beorȝ on bearwe, þā se bytla cwōm,
se þǣr hāliȝne hām arǣrde,

are the following sentences in § 14:

"Ipse autem imperiis viri Dei annuens, arrepta piscatoria scaphula, per invia lustra, inter tetræ paludis margines, Christo viatore ad prædictam insulam, quæ lingua Anglorum Cruland vocatur, pervenit, quæ ante propter remotioris eremi solitudinem inculta et ignota manebat. Nullus hanc ante famulum Christi Guthlacum solus habitare colonus valebat, propter videlicet illic demorantium dœmonum phantasias."

124b-140 tell how Guthlac was tempted after he had renounced earthly joys "in ȝemyndiȝra monna tīdum," who report his fame and the revelations he received, as well as the words he spoke. The first part of this passage corresponds to the beginning of § 16, where Felix states that he had his information from Wilfrid and Cissa, who are also mentioned in the prologue. 129b-130a, "þā hē āna ȝesæt dȳȝle stōwe," correspond to the end of § 14, where it is said that Guthlac "inter umbrosa solitudinis nemora solus habitare cœpit." 134b-140:

þæt hē his līchoman
wynna forwyrnde ond woruldblissa,
sēftra setla ond symbeldaȝa
swylce ēac īdelra ēaȝena wynna,
ȝierelan ȝielplices. Him wæs ȝodes eȝsa
māra in ȝemyndum, þonne hē menniscum
þrymme æfter þonce þeȝan wolde.

These lines revert to sentences in § 11, where the saint's conversion is pictured. Compare, for instance: "Ita enim in illo divinæ gratiæ inflammatio flagrabat, ut non solum regalis indolentiæ reverentiam despiceret, sed parentes et patriam comitesque adolescentiæ suæ contempsit."

141-152a tell how Guthlac bore in his soul divine hope, how he had an angel guardian, took up spiritual arms, and raised a cross. Something more than suggestions for the lines is to be found in § 15 of Felix, where St. Bartholomew's day is mentioned, "in cujus suffragio omnia incepta eremi habitandi ex divina providentia inchoaverat"; and where, after one intervening sentence, we are told: "Deinde præcinctus spiritualibus armis adversus teterrimi hostis insidias, scutum fidei, loricam spei, galeam castitatis, arcum patientiæ, sagittas psalmodiæ, sese in acie firmans, arripuit."

152b-185. God gave Guthlac the victory when throngs of devils with darts came against him; in temptation help was near, though his enemies threatened him with burning if he did not return to his kindred. He did not fear, and put his adversaries to shame. In their anger they said that he caused them misery by his pride in taking up his dwelling in the place that had been their retreat. This passage is based on §§ 17, 18, and 19, not being so much a narrative of any particular temptation described by Felix as a general exposition of the saint's trials. 156b-157,

þonne menȝu cwōm
fēonda fǣrscytum fǣhðe rǣran,

recall Guthlac's adventure with the devil with a bow, in § 17. 161-175 refer to the adventure in which he was threatened by devils with the fires of Hell, which is found in § 19. Vv. 176-185 seem to be based, rather, on § 18, where the devils compare the saint to the prophets and to Christ—to his disadvantage—and lament when put to flight.

186-298. This long section describes the sorrow of the devils at being dispossessed of their place of retreat. With lamentations they threatened Guthlac with future torment, but they were beaten off by his faith. The passage is clearly an expansion of the end of § 19 in Felix:

"Deinde cum solito more matutinas laudes Domino Jesu impenderet, paullisper lumina devertens, a sinistra stantes duos satellites lugentes, sibi præ ceteris aliis notos, conspicit: quos cum interrogasset quid plorassent, responderunt: Vires nostras ubique per te fractas lugemus, et inertiam nostram adversus valetudinem tuam ploramus: non enim te tangere, aut tibi appropinquare audemus. Hæc dicentes, velut fumus a facie ejus evanuerunt."

299-382 give a very general account of Guthlac's life and his

temptations: how he often said to the demons that he would remain steadfast despite all their efforts. I take it that this is a poetical exposition of part of § 19 in Felix, again. Compare vv. 319-326a.

Symle hȳ ȝūðlāc in ȝodes willan
fromne fundon, þonne flyȝerēowe
þurh nihta ȝenipu nēosan cwōman,
þā þe onhæle eardas weredon,
hwæþre him þæs wonȝes wyn sweðrade:
woldun, þæt him tō mōde fore monlufan
sorȝ ȝesohte, þæt hē sīþ tuȝe
eft tō ēþle.

with the following: "Inter hæc cum magnam partem umbrosæ noctis in illis afflictionibus exigebant, sistere illum paullisper fecerunt, imperantes sibi ut de eremo discederet."

383-483. This long passage gives the saint's vision of the corrupt monasteries. There is nothing like it in Felix. This curious state of affairs exists, however: the vision of Hell in § 19 of Felix begins with the statement that the devils drew Guthlac into the heights of the air, while the similar vision in the poem (529-704) does not have this detail mentioned till the very end. The vision of the monasteries, however, is introduced by the poet by precisely this detail. There are two possible explanations of the matter, I think, and only two. Either the entire vision of the monasteries was an addition of the poet's from oral tradition, which he embellished by a single detail from Felix; or he used a different text of Felix from the one we possess. In favor of the latter theory, there is this to be said: our knowledge of the textual history of the *Vita,* as I have suggested above, is by no means clear. It is certainly more reasonable that the saint should be carried aloft to view the wickedness of earth than to gaze into the jaws of Hell.

484-528. This passage is general poetic exposition of Guthlac's life and virtues, for which no special parallel appears but for which the whole *Vita* would have furnished the material.

529-704. This is Guthlac's vision of Hell. Anyone who will compare with it the following passage, from § 19 of Felix, will recognize that the poet followed his source as closely as was consistent with imaginative development of the theme. There are, indeed, many similarities of phrase between the two that make the relationship satisfactorily plain. The poet expanded the account, but nevertheless followed the original step by step.

" Conjunctis itaque in unum turmis, cum immenso clamore leves in auras iter vertentes, supra memoratum Christi famulum Guthlacum ad nefandas Tartari fauces usque perducunt. Ille vero fumigantes æstuantis inferni catervas prospectans, omnia tormenta quæ prius a malignis spiritibus perpessus est, tamquam non ipse pateretur, obliviscebatur: non solum enim fluctuantium ignivomos gurgites illic turgescere cerneres, imo etiam sulphureos glaciali grandine mistos vortices, globosis sparginibus sidera pene tangentes videbantur: maligni vero inter favillantium voraginum atras cavernas discurrentes, miserabili fatu animas iniquorum diversis cruciatum generibus torquebant. Igitur vir Dei Guthlacus, cum innumerabiles tormentorum species horresceret, satellitum sibi, velut uno ex ore, turmæ clamabant, dicentes: Ecce nobis potestas data est te trudere in has pœnas, et illic in atrocissimarum gehennarum tormento variis cruciatibus nobis te torquere commissum est. En ignis, quem in delictis tuis accendisti, te consumere paratus est; en tibi patulis hiatibus igniflua erebi ostia patescunt; nunc stygiæ fibræ te vorare volunt, tibi quoque æstivi Acherontis voragines horrendis faucibus hiscunt. Sed illis hæc et alia plurima his similia dicentibus, vir Dei minas eorum despiciens, immotis sensibus, stabili animo, sobria mente respondens, aiebat: Væ vobis filii tenebrarum, semen Cain, favilla cineris. Si vestræ potentiæ sit istis me tradere pœnis, en præsto sum: ut quid falsivomis pectoribus vanas minas depromitis? Illis vero veluti ad trudendum illum in præsentium tormentorum gehennas sese præcingentibus, ecce S. Bartholomæus, cum immenso cœlestis lucis splendore, medias furvæ noctis infuso lumine interrumpens tenebras, sese ab æthereis sedibus radiantis olympi coram illis, aureo fulgore amictus, obtulit. Maligni vero spiritus, non sustinentes cœlestis splendoris fulgorem, frendere, tremere, fugere, timere cœperunt. Sanctus vero Guthlacus, adventum fidelissimi auxiliatoris sui persentiens, spiritali lætitia gavisus est. Tunc deinde S. Batholomæus catervis satellitum jubet, ut illum in locum suum cum magna quietudine, sine ulla offensionis molestia, reducerent. Nec mora, præceptis Apostolicis obtemperantes, dicto citius jussa facessunt. Nam illum revehentes cum magna suavitate, velut quietissimo alarum remigio, ita ut nec in curru nec in navi modestius duci potuisset, subvolabant."

704b-744 tell how Guthlac was greeted by the birds, which he fed and took into his hands. Comments upon this follow. The whole is undoubtedly based on § 24 of the *Vita,* which differs mainly by mentioning the subjection of fish as well as birds to the saint's holiness. I need not quote the Latin, I think.

745-761 give the death of Guthlac and his heavenly reward. They are based on § 35 of Felix, but recount the facts without detail. This brevity is consistent with the purpose of the poem,

of course, for it deals with the life of the saint in the Fens rather than with the glories of his transit to eternity. To another poem, and, I believe, to another poet was left the whole story of his death.

762-790 form a lyrical epilogue in praise of holy men. They are based, I think, on § 38 of Felix. In the Latin, to be sure, the praise concerns Guthlac alone; but it has the same manner as the poet's glorification of the "hūsulweras, cempan ȝecorene," by which he rounds out his picture of the particular saint.

The foregoing comparison will have shown, I hope, that *Guthlac the Hermit* is certainly dependent upon the *Vita* for its substance, though by no means for its form. The poet could have got from it all his material except for the prologue (1-63) and for the vision of the monasteries (383-483). These two passages are not sufficient to overbalance the remainder of the evidence. They are, besides, open to the suspicion of dependence upon a text of Felix different from any now extant. The poet used his source freely, selecting what he would and when he would; omitting, condensing, or expanding as seemed to him best.

We must now consider the statements of the poet that have been taken to mean that he based his work on oral tradition. There are four of them scattered through the poem.

Hwæt! wē hȳrdon oft, þæt se hālga wer
in þā ǣrestan ældu ȝelufade
frēcnessa fela. (79-81)

Hē ȝecostad wearð
in ȝemyndiȝra monna tīdum. (124-5)
se ān ōretta ūssum tīdum
cempa ȝecȳðeð, (372-3)

Hwæt! wē þissa wundra ȝewitan sindon:
eall þās ȝeēodon in ūssera
tīda tīman. (724-6)

These passages are exceedingly interesting as perhaps marking the poet's sense that he was doing something unusual—as he was—in taking a native saint as his hero. They clearly indicate that he did not think of Guthlac as someone far removed from his own day. We need not take literally, however, the statements that Guthlac "was tempted in times that men remember" and that "we are witnesses of these wonders." The poet was but recalling, after all, the references of Felix to his informants, and making evident his own place in the line of tradition. Even if it be true

that he had "heard often" about the saint's wild youth, he would not have been any the less likely to use a convenient Latin *Vita* as the basis for his poem.

It must be remembered that Felix himself was by no means without literary forbears. Although we need not doubt that he wrote at a time when Guthlac was still remembered, and that he obtained information from Wilfrid, Cissa, and Beccel as he said, we have been shown of late that he took whole paragraphs from Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti.* Dr. Gonser, who has demonstrated this,[5] has also remarked that Felix had as models such writers as Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus, and Gregory the Great. He might have said, also, that Bede's account of Cuthbert was by no means a wholly original work, based as it was on an earlier *Vita* by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne. I have already indicated that the prologue of the life of St. Friardus by Gregory of Tours has a passage resembling the beginning of *Guthlac the Hermit;* I should add that that whole life belongs in the same class of Latin legends as the lives by Bede and Felix. It is not, indeed, unlikely that the *Vita S. Guthlaci* was a mosaic, pieced together by Felix from various sources to fit the circumstances of the special case. Such a procedure would have seemed a quite proper and normal thing to any writer of the time.

All this has an important bearing on *Guthlac the Hermit.* Felix wrote a rhetorically elaborate *Vita,* based in part on oral tradition but to a considerable extent on literary sources, towards the middle of the eighth century.[6] He was already at one remove from the saint. Subsequently—how long afterwards we cannot tell—an Old English poet fashioned his verses from material that he got from Felix. Even though he regarded himself, in the excitement of composition, as being of the same "tīd" with Guthlac, he was working at two removes from his subject. He was not weaving the raw stuff of life into poetry any more than was Cynewulf in the *Elene.*

Furthermore, though we may deeply regret it, we must be con-

[5] Paul Gonser, *Das angelsächsische Prosa-Leben des hl. Guthlac,* 1909 (Anglistische Forschungen 27), pp. 10-14.

[6] See Liebermann, "Ueber ostenglische Geschichtsquellen," *Neues Arch. der Gesell. f. ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde,* XVIII, 245-6; and Gonser, work cited, pp. 18-20. Note that Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti* was not written till about 720.

tent not to regard *Guthlac the Hermit* as a poem which can be definitely dated. It has been set down, of late, as surely belonging about the middle of the eighth century,[7] but for reasons that I have tried to show are fallacious. The poem, as a matter of fact, allies itself in method and style to the group we call Cynewulfian, and it may well have been the work of a contemporary or follower of that great master.

II. Guthlac's Death

In considering the relationship of *Guthlac's Death* to the *Vita* by Felix, one has in mind a different problem from that relating to *Guthlac the Hermit.* No one denies that 791-1353 were based on the *Vita;* but there is great interest in scrutinizing the nature of this dependence. The poem so insistently recalls the signed work of Cynewulf, by the general impression it makes, that one welcomes any test whatsoever of the truth or falsity of the attribution. The question can scarcely be settled by considering the way the Latin source has been used, but it may be clarified. The test may help us at least to understand what basis there is for the feeling that the poem is similar to those signed by Cynewulf.

To begin with, the entire 563 verses of *Guthlac's Death* are based —except for one passage—on a single chapter of the *Vita* and, indeed, on a single section of that chapter (Cap. v, § 35) as printed in the *Acta Sanctorum.* Material now contained in a page, folio, sufficed the poet for the whole story.

791-850. This prologue of lyrical fervor, reviewing the creation of the world and the coming of death through the sin of Adam and Eve, is an expansion of only nine lines in the *Vita,* which say merely that all men, of whatever state, must die, since death came with Adam. The hint is given by the Latin—the rest is the poet's own.

850b-904 give a brief review of Guthlac's life and fame: his temptations by devils, his relations with the birds, and the visits paid him by the sick of body or soul. The passage renders the poem independent of *Guthlac the Hermit.* It is, of course, an epitome of certain features of the life of the saint as found in the earlier chapters of Felix.

[7] For example, see Brandl, *Paul's Grundriss,* II, 1034; and Morsbach, *Nachrichten der Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen,* Phil-hist. Kl. 1906, pp. 273-4.

904b-953. This passage, which tells of the approach of death to Guthlac, is based on the thirteen lines of the *Vita* that immediately follow those from which 791-850 were expanded.

953b-969 revert to the theme of 791-850, and play upon it in another way.

969b-983 narrate the visit of Guthlac's disciple. The poet, omitting one sentence in Felix that immediately follows the source of 904b-953, expands between six and seven lines of his original. He does not mention the name of the "ombehtþegn," Beccelinus.

983b-995. These verses are an expansion of the question asked by Beccelinus as soon as he entered the cell: "Domine mi, quid novi tibi accidit? an forte nocte hac ulla infirmitatis molestia te tetigit?" The art with which the poet has developed the simple inquiry compels admiration. The expansion is at once clever and imaginatively just.

996-1020. This passage introduces Guthlac's reply to the servant's question and gives the reply itself. The poet has omitted a short reply and a second question, given by Felix, and has expanded the next five lines of the text. The master's reply, like the disciple's question, is faithful in substance to the original but has been developed with epic breadth.

1020b-1036. These verses, which expand the next sentence of Felix may well be quoted, together with the Latin, as an instructive example of the poet's ordinary procedure.

Ðā wæs wōp ond hēaf,
ȝeonȝum ȝēocor sefa, ȝēomrende hyȝe,
siþþan hē ȝehȳrde, þæt se hālȝa wæs
forðsīþes fūs: hē þæs fǣrspelles
fore his mondryhtne mōdsorȝe wæȝ
hefiȝe æt heortan; hreþer innan swēarc,
hyȝe hrēowcariȝ, þæs þe [hē] his hlāford
ȝesēah ellorfūsne. Hē þæs onbǣru
habban ne meahte, ac hē hāte lēt
torn þoliende tēaras ȝēotan,
weallan wǣȝdropan. Wyrd ne meahte
in fǣȝum lenȝ feorȝ ȝehealdan,
dēore frætwe, þonne him ȝedēmed wæs.
Onȝeat ȝǣsta hāliȝ ȝēomormōdes
drūsendne hyȝe; onȝan þā duȝuþa hlēo
ȝlædmōd ȝode lēof ȝeonȝran rētan,
wine lēofestan wordum nēȝan.

" His auditis prædictus Frater, flens et gemens, crebris lacrymarum rivulis mœstas genas rigavit: quem vir Dei consolans ait."

1037-1066 give Guthlac's consoling reply, which contains some of the noblest and tenderest poetry in Old English. They are based on five lines of quite tasteless Latin.

1067-1114 narrate subsequent events up to the seventh day thereafter. They are founded on the next eight lines in Felix.

1114b–1169 tell of the servant's visit to Guthlac on the seventh day, his request that he speak, and the saint's injunction to deliver a message to his sister. The passage is an expansion, again, of the next sixteen lines of Felix. The poet has omitted the name of the saint's sister, Pega, but has otherwise preserved everything in his source up to this point of the speech. The end of it, however, which concerns Guthlac's shroud, is omitted.

1170-1196. The servant questions Guthlac about his mysterious visitors. This is a generous expansion of the eight lines of Felix next following.

1197-1243 give the saint's account of his angelic visitants, which is expanded from the succeeding passage in the *Vita*, about thirteen lines. The statement, found in the Latin, that Beccel may not reveal, except to Pega and Ecgberht, the fact of the angels' visit, is left out.

1243b-1252. How the saint passed his last day, which is from the next four lines of Felix.

1252b-1269 form a poetic description of the oncoming night and of the miraculous light that encompassed the saint's dwelling. This is based on the next five or six lines of Felix.

1269b-1273 should be quoted with the Latin original, which follows straight on after the passage just mentioned. A comparison will show how well the poet understood when to speak at length and when to be terse.

Tīd is þæt þū fēre
ond þā ǣrendu eal biþence,
ofestum lǣde, swa ic þē ǣr bibēad,
lāc tō lēofre! nū of līce is
ȝoddrēama ȝeorn ȝǣst swīðe fūs.

" Fili mi, præpara te, iter tuum perge; jam me nunc tempus cogit ab his membris dissolvi, et decursis hujus vitæ terminis ad infinita gaudia spiritus transtolli malit."

1274-1278, which briefly report the saint's death, illustrate the same point as the last passage. Five lines in Felix are devoted to the death.

1279-1300 recount the wonders that the servant saw and heard after his master died. The passage is gloriously developed from eight somewhat matter-of-fact lines in Felix.

1300b-1353. This passage wonderfully elaborates upon six and a half lines of Felix, which state baldly that Beccelinus was afraid, went by boat to Pega, and " fraterna sibi mandata omnia ex ordine narravit."

Here our English text unfortunately breaks off, leaving us in doubt as to the poet's identity, but quite ready to accept Wülker's conjecture that the ending may have contained Cynewulf's signature. Certainly, as far as the treatment of the source is concerned, the poem is extraordinarily like the work of Cynewulf. Anyone who will place the foregoing analysis side by side with Glöde's treatment of the source of the *Elene*,[8] or with Professor Cook's of the *Christ*,[9] will see that the method of poetic adaptation in the three works is essentially the same. No writer without the constructive imagination that Cynewulf undoubtedly possessed could have taken a chapter of turgid rhetoric like this one by Felix, and have made of it a great poem. That *Guthlac's Death* is a great poem I have no hesitancy in asserting. It is admirable for its clarity, for its just proportion, and for its sympathetic interpretation of nature and humanity. In all these essentials it is superior to *Guthlac the Hermit* as well as to most Old English poetry. I should be glad if my pedestrian comparison of it with its source made some of its virtues apparent. I think I have shown, at least, that its effects are due not at all to chance, but to manipulation by a poet with a genuine gift for construction. That he was Cynewulf I cannot prove, but that he was Cynewulf's peer seems to me very evident.

GORDON HALL GEROULD.

Princeton University.

[8] *Anglia*, IX, 271-318.

[9] Summed up in the introduction and notes of *The Christ of Cynewulf*, 1900.